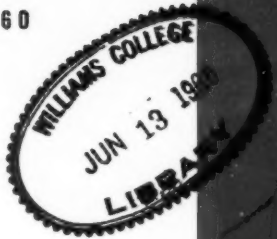


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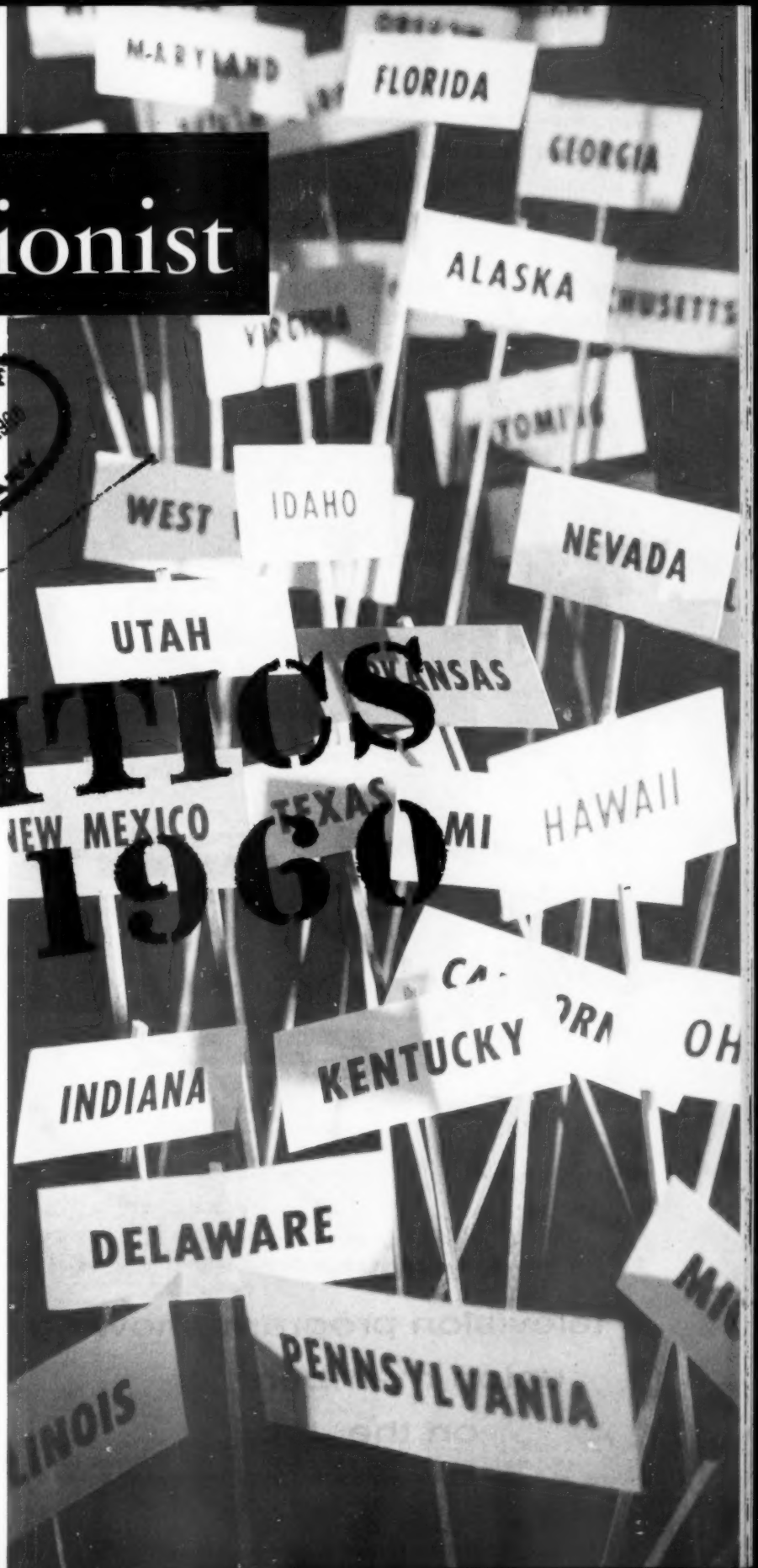
# The American Federationist

JUNE 1960

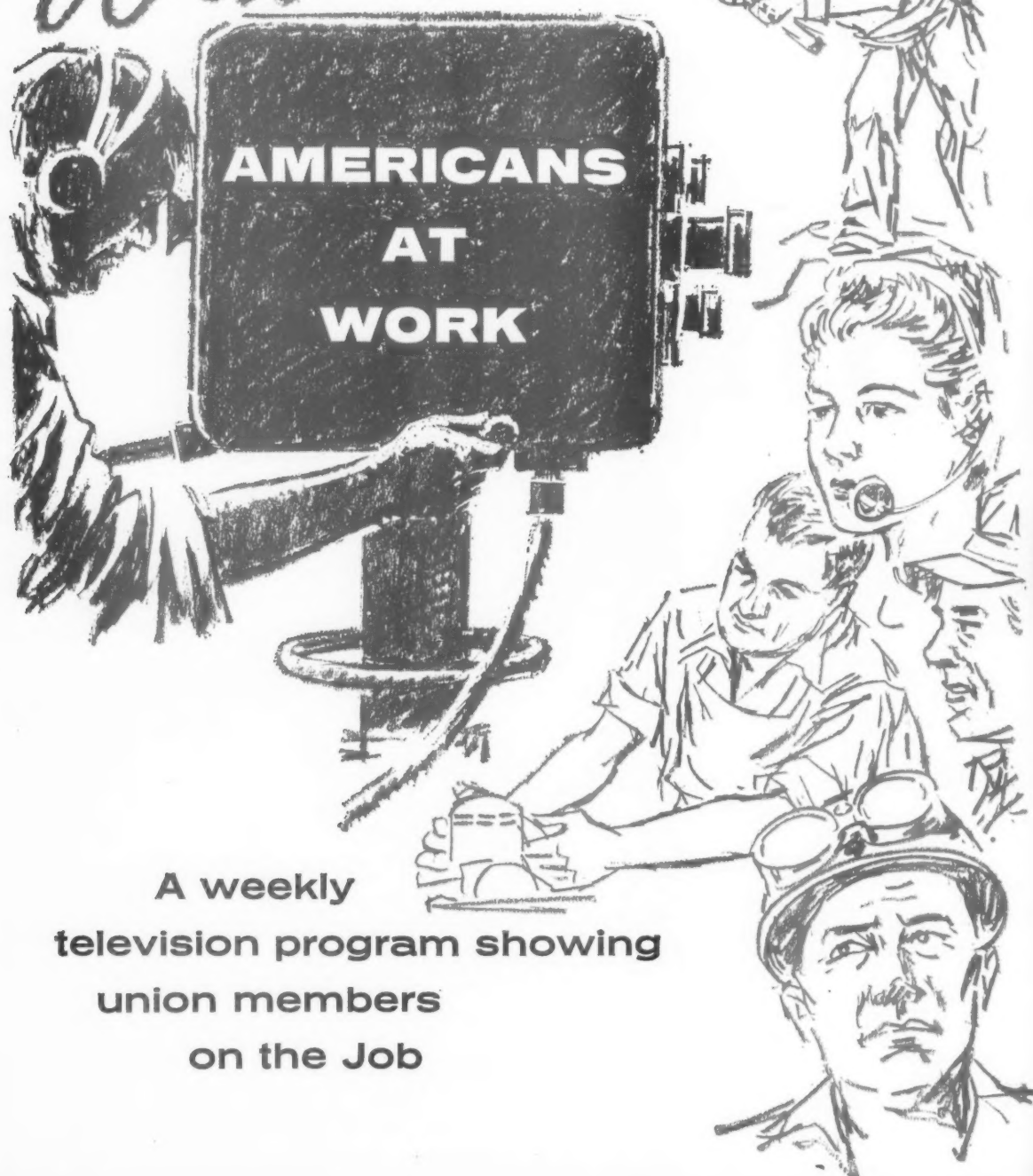


## POLITICS 1960

By  
Willard Shelton



# Watch



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The selection of two men to contest for one of the most powerful offices on earth—the presidency of the United States—will dominate the news next month when the Democratic and Republican conventions meet in Los Angeles and Chicago. The history, evolution and nature of a unique American institution, the major party nominating conventions, are examined in this issue of the Federationist.

Of the many major issues facing the convention—in addition to the selection of a candidate—civil rights and the role of the government in providing basic public services will be among the most important. One aspect of the civil rights question is the “sit-in” demonstrations in the South. Edward P. Morgan, AFL-CIO-sponsored American Broadcasting Co. news commentator, analyzes this new movement in an article on Page 7.

The neglect of public services—housing, hospitals, schools, water supply and many others—is pinpointed in an article on Page 12. The specific legislative issues touching on these services are expected to be critical in the presidential campaign.

This issue also contains, on Page 20, the second in a series of articles on the Landrum-Griffin Act and its impact on unions, and an article, on Page 17, details the background of worker exploitation and discrimination that has sparked protests and police violence in the Union of South Africa.

And in the traditional month of commencement addresses there is a hopeful report on Page 9 of new stirrings on the campuses.

# The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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Vol. 67

JUNE 1960

No. 6

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## 'The Hooting, the Howling,' ...and a Candidate is Born

by Willard Shelton

During the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions, wrote the famous Kansas editor William Allen White in 1938, "the fate of America more or less impinges" upon the "hooting, the howling, the braying, the blatting" of something akin to "an Indian pow-wow . . . medicine making, savage, reasonless, uncanny." During sessions of the conventions every four years, he went on, "the American government actually is in a fluid state. There, rather than at the ballot box, the people surrender for a few hours their rights as free men."

It is a harsh judgment. White was writing at the moment of the Republican convention of 1920 that in response to bosses "in a smoke-filled room" selected the tragically incompetent Warren G. Harding for the presidency and then in a startling upheaval threw off dictation and uproariously nominated that oddball

Yankee, Calvin Coolidge, as Harding's gratified running-mate. The bosses by no means intended it.

White was there—a member of the platform committee—and it seems curious that the Kansas editor who wrote so long and lovingly of politics never seemed to comprehend the vital part the convention plays in American life and how it was created not in "surrender" of men's rights but as an assertion of them when the president-making machinery devised by the Founding Fathers had to be jettisoned by a democracy unwilling to accept less than first-class participation.

When the Democratic convention meets July 11 in Los Angeles and the Republican convention July 25 in Chicago, they will represent the closest approach the people have been able to make to full and intimate participation in the solemn business of selecting the nominees. Disorderly they may be, vast and confused and on the Democratic side perhaps fiercely quarrelsome, but they function as an American political institution seeking, however roughly, to reflect the peo-

WILLARD SHELTON, managing editor of the AFL-CIO News, has covered Democratic and Republican national conventions since 1940.

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ple's will. Each of them is the nearest thing we have to a representative group mirroring with some accuracy those popular amalgams of millions of diverse voters that go by the name of "parties."

**This cannot be pushed too far.** The majority of delegates obviously are professional politicians from the states. There may be a struggle for power as intrastate rivals battle over candidates, or a delegation may be "delivered" by the state bosses when they decide either that they had better get with "the winner" or that they have been offered an adequate consideration. Thus Representative Charles A. Halleck "delivered" Indiana's votes to Thomas E. Dewey at the 1948 Republican convention; he thought, mistakenly, he had been reliably promised the vice presidency. In 1932 at the Democratic convention, Franklin D. Roosevelt was glad to award the vice presidency to Speaker John N. Garner when Garner's Texas and California friends proffered in return the necessary votes to nominate Roosevelt on the fourth ballot.

The Republican convention this year, with the GOP National Committee making the arrangements, seems likely to be a dull affair, prearranged with White House support for the ratification of Vice President Nixon as nominee. The Democratic convention, under control of National Chairman Paul M. Butler, is being set up on Butler's belief that the party must be liberal and that it must meet head-on the issue of "loyalist" principles. Butler through the Committee on Arrangements controlled the choice of keynoter, permanent chairman, chairman of the Resolutions (platform) Committee and chairman of the Credentials Committee, which may have some hot business in deciding whether to seat southern delegations unwilling to pledge support of the nominees if they don't like either the nominees or the platform.

**The conventions** will be composed of delegates chosen in various ways. John F. Kennedy knocked Hubert Humphrey out of the race by winning the West Virginia primary, but some convention delegates from the state were known to lean strongly to an unavowed candidate who wasn't even there, Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Some of the delegates were chosen or will be on the basis of primary elections and announced preferences among candidates. Others were selected, as in Virginia, by state conventions of the parties. Some are "bound" to a candidate until "released" by him, others are "bound" for one ballot only, still others "bound" for so long as honorable men think the candidate has a reasonable chance; some are not "bound" at all or are temporarily pledged to favorite sons. Some state delegations will work under the unit rule, giving a single candidate all the state's votes; others will be able to split, and undoubtedly will do so, several ways.

Nevertheless, the conventions, in contrast to the Congress that is our only other multiple elected body, are manifestly more directly representative of the majority of our people. The Senate gives two places to 15 million people in New York and two places to about

700,000 in New Mexico. The House membership is divided proportionately among the states by population, but within the states the districts are gerrymandered ruthlessly to deny equal weight to the urban and suburban voters and give superior weight to rural and small-town voters. Within the Congress itself the seniority system gives enormous power to a handful of committee chairmen whose rise results solely from their residence in areas either solidly Democratic or solidly Republican—and such areas seem likely to exist in backwaters outside the mainstream of American political movements.

**The conventions**, on the other hand, divide power and votes among the states more equitably according to population. The party national committees also reflect the weight of populations. The proportions are not ideal but the difference in the makeup of Democratic conventions and the Democratic delegations in House and Senate largely explains why the conventions choose both candidates and platforms more "liberal" than the party's accomplishments in Congress.

Colorful and raucous the conventions often are, and sometimes they carry surprises.

In 1928 at the Republican convention in Kansas City, Andrew Mellon was fawned on by reporters who thought the rich man controlled the Pennsylvania delegation and would speak the word, when he decided to abandon delphic reticence, that would make Herbert Hoover the nominee. But "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton" apparently hated to pronounce the name of his cabinet rival, the Secretary of Commerce, and it turned out that he controlled less than he thought. Mellon, like the rest, read it in the newspapers when Boss Bill Vare, the



Philadelphian who had been denied a Senate seat on charges of excessive campaign expenditures, announced the actual delivery of the delegation to Hoover.

**In 1940 in Chicago**, a sullen and resentful band of Democrats reluctantly accepted Franklin D. Roosevelt's dictation of Henry A. Wallace for the vice presidency—but Delegate Robert E. Hannegan of Missouri voted a loud No. Pretty soon Hennegan was chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and he took the lead in persuading Roosevelt to dump Wallace in 1944. Wallace missed the succession to the White House by less than three months.

The 1940 Republican convention saw the manufactured "draft" of Wendell L. Willkie, with the packed and stacked galleries overpowering the voting delegates with their chant, "We want Willkie." A great deal of the wealth and publishing power the Republican party represents was up in the galleries, and the delegates heeded their master's voice. The same forces massed at Chicago 12 years later to veto Robert A. Taft and nominate General Eisenhower. It is a convention remembered for the mellifluous post-mortem denunciation of Thomas E. Dewey, the Eisenhower convention captain, by Everett McKinley Dirksen, speaking for himself and the isolationist-Taft bitterenders, and for Dewey's thin, toothy, contemptuous smile as he listened from the New York delegation's place on the floor.

There were historic events in Philadelphia in 1936, when Roosevelt made his famous "rendezvous with destiny" acceptance speech and when Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri at last had vengeance on the Southerners who a quarter-century earlier had deprived his father, Champ Clark, then Speaker of the House, of the nomination. Champ Clark had a majority at Baltimore in 1912, and he held it through many ballots, but the Democratic convention then had a two-thirds rule, and in the end the choice was Woodrow Wilson. Bennett Clark used the huge New Deal

majorities of Roosevelt and Roosevelt's control of the 1936 convention to destroy the two-thirds rule—and the veto power of the South over Democratic presidential nominees was gone forever.

**The hooliganism** and the "blatting" are tending to disappear in latter days, because the dread realization of the television cameras makes the leaders acutely aware that every instant is being conveyed to millions of voters who may at any moment get their permanent "image" of the party and its candidates. The hooligans are being replaced by amateur TV comedians on the convention floor—the 1952 Puerto Rican delegate at the Democratic conclave; Terry Carpenter of Nebraska and his fictional "Joe Smith" for vice president at the 1956 Republican convention—but we no longer have anything comparable to the torchlight parades and whiskey slugging of Nineteenth Century politics. Even the convention hall "demonstrations" for the various candidates are synthetic and hired rather than spontaneous.

Yet there will always be color—because the business of a convention is the making of a President, and the delegates as well as the people back home are acutely conscious of it. Moreover, the party nominating convention is the people's invention—an institution created under American practice, unsanctioned by anything in the constitution or in any law of Congress, growing straight from American political soil as a necessary ingredient in our system. It is still in the process of growth and refinement—television is changing it mightily—but the essence has been there for five generations, and if it had not worked fairly well the people would have invented something else.

**American politics** is disorderly by its nature and the conventions do not defy the tradition. We have no neat packages of dogma, laced in ribbons and tied with bows, that can be labeled "liberal" or "conservative." The New York Republican Jacob K.



Enthusiasm ran high when Governor Adlai Stevenson accepted the nomination at 1952 Democratic convention.



Delegates to 1952 GOP convention throng floor after rollcall vote gives Eisenhower Taft-claimed southern delegates.

Javits has more in common with the Illinois Democrat Paul Douglas than with the Arizona Republican Barry Goldwater. Even within the southern wing of the Democratic party, Albert Gore from the border state of Tennessee has more in common with a northern Republican like George Aiken of Vermont than with Jamie Whitten or James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Conversely, Styles Bridges of New Hampshire is the intellectual force of the Republican Old Guard, and he gets along very well with both Goldwater and with the Democrat Harry Byrd of Virginia.

**A great many proposals** are being made for the improvement of the convention system. Harry S. Truman, who thinks that the scattered presidential primaries now in existence are "eyewash," nevertheless has endorsed the idea of a national presidential primary—a somewhat surprising shift for one who frequently has warned that nationwide primaries would exhaust the candidates, paralyze ordinary government business by its long distractions, and perhaps bankrupt the campaign contributors. A massive new book by three students of government—Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain—makes suggestions for improvements of the convention system. Its most important contribution is its realistic recognition that the conventions are "indispensable" to our democracy—that "the continuing contributions" they have made "to the survival and stability of the American political order are unique . . . and, granted our form of constitution, probably irreplaceable."\*

In order to value the convention system, it is merely necessary to understand what it replaced. The Founding Fathers, so far as president-making was

concerned, did not trust the people. They set up the Electoral College, with a fine-spun theory that each state would choose its wisest citizens, and that these wise men would choose the President for the rest of us. They removed the process two steps from the people by providing that electors could be chosen in any manner each state legislature should provide: The legislatures were free to choose the electors on their own recognizance with no reference whatever even to citizens allowed by property and other qualifications to vote. Most of them did exactly that.

This system lasted for just one election—George Washington's first. Though Washington was re-elected unanimously in 1792, a growing party spirit was revealed in a split in the Electoral College in selecting a vice president. In 1800 Aaron Burr threw the election into the House of Representatives by claiming that he had as much right to the presidency as Jefferson, because each got the same number of Electoral College votes. This flaw was cured by the Twelfth Amendment, but the Electoral College system was otherwise left untouched. The rise of democratic feeling was expanding the number of citizens allowed to vote; we were beginning the move toward universal suffrage, free of property tests, and the people showed a demand for participation in president-choosing as well as in other elections. In 1800 an indignant citizen complained publicly that an Electoral College member for whom he had voted had switched candidate allegiance afterward, and the doublecrossed citizen fiercely said he had chosen the elector not to "think" but to "act."

**The citizens, thus,** began to get the right to vote as between candidates, but they still had no way to help pick the candidates. The Founding Fathers' Electoral College dogma had collapsed and the Constitution provided nothing to take its place. Politics, as nature, abhors a vacuum—and the candidates of the now well-developed political parties had to be chosen by some system, so the members of Congress took

\* *The Politics of National Party Conventions.* Published by the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. \$10. A shorter paperback edition, by Kathleen Sproul, priced at \$1.95, was published by the Brookings Institution on May 19.



over. "King Caucus" it was called—and the people grew to despise the system. Andrew Jackson, one of five candidates in 1824, was nominated only by the Tennessee Legislature; the last congressional caucus nominated William H. Crawford of Georgia. The choice finally went to the House of Representatives and John Quincy Adams, Jr., though second to Jackson in the popular vote and in the Electoral College, emerged with the presidency. Jackson at once began campaigning for 1828—and the popular vote jumped from 350,000 to 1,150,000, and Jackson won it cleanly.

The third time around, in 1832, Jackson was re-nominated by the first true major party convention—and that's the way things have been done ever since. By that time, only two states still named their Electoral College members through the legislature; the rest chose them by popular vote, electors pledged to "act" in accordance with majority will, not claiming the right to "think" for themselves as superior to the body of voters. The rise of the party nominating conventions coincided with the popular demand for the spread of the suffrage.

Whatever improvements may be needed—conventions made much more representative of a party's popular vote than now, parties made better disciplined and given greater coherence and continuity by reforms of the national committee system and function—one of potential political dangers today is that of reversion, in a few states, to the discredited Electoral College system.

**In 1948 a Tennessee elector, a winner on the Truman Democratic ticket, cast his vote for then Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the Dixiecrat candidate.** In four southern states Truman's name was not allowed on the ballot under the Democratic emblem, and the Electoral College votes of these states went to Thurmond. The basic constitutional system has not been formally changed; an elector is still legally free to run on one candidate's ticket and vote for another. In at least five traditionally Democratic southern states, efforts this year have been made to set up slates of electors on a so-called "independent"

basis so the local Big Mules can run things still if they do not like the major party nominees and platforms.

The threat here, as in 1948, when both Thurmond's Dixiecrats and Henry A. Wallace's so-called Progressives made it a four-party race, is that archaic and repudiated constitutional machinery will be exploited to rob the people of the election of the President directly, deprive both major-party candidates of an Electoral College majority, and put the choice to the House of Representatives in which each state has one vote and one vote only.

Putting aside this threat, which is tentative and seems unlikely to play a controlling part in our modern election processes, the convention system can be credited with substantial contributions to the growth and stability of our two-party democracy.

**Our political life** lacks the neatness of the British parliamentary system and the British practice of party coherence, but this is a different kind of country from Britain as well as a vastly bigger one. We are still in the process of becoming a national community. The office of President is a powerful one, and the conventions evolved across the decades as a technique through which the parties could choose candidates who were felt, by common consent, to be suitable as well as—each side hoped—electable. They exist under our own approach to a kind of political "common law" that expresses the true genius of western democracy—the capacity to create and develop institutions responsive to what Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once called the "felt needs" of the times.

When the clerk of the Democratic convention calls out the name "Alabama" next July 13, on the role of the states for the purpose of offering nominees for the Democratic candidacy, there will be echoes from the Baltimore convention of 1832 that started Andrew Jackson on his way to a second term and buried forever the nomination of candidates by congressional leaders through "King Caucus," buried forever, one hopes, the irresponsible power of the Electoral College. The process of president-making in 1960 will enter the final period that leads to the November 8 election and the people's decision.



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Prayer plays an important part in the southern collegians' demonstrations.

# Gandhi

## In Greensboro

by Edward Morgan

**Somebody suggested** over a drink in Washington recently that what Americans need today is not a good 5-cent cigar but a cause. Most of us have, if not as much as we want, at least more than we require of worldly goods. But our comforts are making us uncomfortable. We are squirming and groping for something to live for beyond frozen television tray dinners and motel swimming pools.

Disarmament is a good cause. But it is difficult and in some respects undesirable to become personally engaged with a megaton bomb. The Community Chest is a worthy enterprise. We pay lip and passing pocketbook service to it and then deduct the payment from our income tax. Justice for Tibet! Self-determination for the eastern European satellites! These are goals we readily identify ourselves with in principle and then lose interest in, defaulting, eventually, our support.

*"GANDHI IN 'GREENSBORO" was the title Edward P. Morgan, whose nationally broadcast radio news program is sponsored by the AFL-CIO, gave to the address he delivered in accepting an award for the excellency of his newscasts from the Sidney Hillman Foundation.*

What about a cause closer home? The cause of equal rights and human decency, the dignity of that inconsistent, inefficient, irreplaceable piece of machinery, the human individual, including you and me.

Why is it that we cringe a little at these terms, equal rights, decency and dignity of the individual? Perhaps it is because we have been dignifying the wrong things lately. In a public discussion of morals the other day Carl Sandburg said we now have an Eleventh Commandment: "Do whatever you want to do to be comfortable." So, blessed are the status seekers for theirs is the heavenly kingdom of payola and the fixed quiz show. In this atmosphere of the kickback and influence-peddling, we have forgotten a central truth: People are more important than anything. The fabric of our social system was woven to protect the individual with equal justice, to clothe him with freedom and self-respect. But somehow we have threaded into the garment the fat bulky strands of materialism, the tight dark thongs of selfishness, fear, prejudice and outright hatred. The garment has been twisted into a degrading shape.

**Our cause, I suggest,** is to make it fit properly, so that it will once more ennoble the society that wears it. Do we have an inspiration for a pattern? Has anybody been ennobling the human species lately? Down in Greensboro, N. C., last February 1, a handsome 18-year-old freshman at the State Agriculture and Technical College named Ezell Blair, Jr., led three schoolmates to the lunch counter in a Woolworth's store and asked for service. Thus, inauspiciously, began an auspicious movement, the Negro sit-ins against segregation which have spread to nearly every state in the South.

Ezell Blair and his mates didn't know quite what they were starting, but they knew where they got their inspiration. They got it from Mohandas K. Gandhi. "I've never forgotten a television show I saw last year called the Pictorial Story of India," young Blair told a New York Times reporter. He was impressed with how the strength of Gandhi's passive resistance seemed to grow each time he was thrown into jail.

Many of these current young followers of the Mahatma have already been put in jail. In Petersburg, Va., it was for seeking equal access to the public library. Hardly a day goes by in the town where I live, Washington, D. C., especially now that the election campaign season is open, without some aspiring statesman or doom-cracking pundit sounding a warning about the deterioration of the democratic system and the need to do something about it. But while we talk, a Negro teen-ager, not old enough to vote even if his election board would let him, is doing something about it.

**There is the key.** This is a revolution. Here is a new generation of Negroes, well-dressed, college-educated, restrained, determined, asserting its constitutional rights to a freedom promised a century ago but never really fulfilled, North or South. We follow the news from Algiers, from Leopoldville, Capetown and Johannesburg with excited concern over the latest chapters in the unending history of men's struggle for independence. But to the convulsive developments in a liberation movement rising right under our noses in Miami, Atlanta, Charlotte, Orangeburg and Baton Rouge, we react with as much attention as we give the National Safety Council's figures on traffic deaths.

Acknowledging the teachings of Christ and Gandhi, and looking to the Rev. Martin Luther King for counsel, says one recent newspaper dispatch, "college students in Nashville, Tenn., drew up the code below to govern student conduct in 'sit-in' protests at lunch counters discriminating against Negroes:

- 'Don't strike back or curse if abused.
- 'Don't laugh out.
- 'Don't hold conversations with floor workers.
- 'Don't block entrances to the stores and the aisles.
- 'Show yourself courteous and friendly at all times.
- 'Sit straight and always face the counter.
- 'Remember love and non-violence.
- 'May God bless each of you.'

In Chapel Hill, where the unsegregated University of North Carolina is located, the Negro demonstrators made the following declaration of purpose:

"We do not picket just because we want to eat. We can eat at home. . . .

"We do not picket to express our anger or resentment at any one.

"We do not picket to humiliate anyone or put anyone out of business.

"We do picket to help the businessman make changes that will bring us closer to the Christian and democratic practices. . . .

"We do picket to protest the lack of dignity and respect shown us as human beings."

**All 27 ministers** of Chapel Hill signed a statement endorsing that declaration. "We deplore the fact that any group of our citizens is placed in the position of having to ask to be treated with dignity and respect," the statement said in part. "We confess our own responsibility for the existence and toleration of such attitudes and practices as made this request necessary. . . . We commend the leaders of these . . . protests for their dedication to the principles of non-violence. We believe that the right to protest in this fashion is a right generally recognized in our society. . . ."

There is something far more dramatically moving, more deeply convincing to the quiet dignity of this passive offensive than the pathetic belligerence raised against it. This latter answer reflects an anachronistic leadership and the frustrated flatfoot mentality of a country cop, a mentality which the British, with a little more polish perhaps, applied against Gandhi to their everlasting sorrow. And supporting the jungle law of fear and hate is the rabble, The Mob.

One of the voices of the Old Dominion, the Richmond News-Leader, sorrowfully described a battle scene of this new conflict recently in these words:

"Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are, in reading of Saturday's 'sit-downs' by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the southern states in the last war fought by gentlemen."

**Let us not make** the disastrous mistake of enshrining the Negroes as a population of paragons. There is evil, lethal delinquency and tragic corruption of leadership among them too, and you only have to step up the street to Harlem to find evidences of both. But on balance, Negro demagogues do not begin to match the number or viciousness of the bullies of white supremacy and if erring Negro teen-agers have often been brutally violent in their rebel-

liousness, the duck-tailed delinquents of the white rock-'n-roll set have no prouder record.

Ironically, the steadiness of their deportment has inspired some emotional inclination to endow them with certain superhuman faculties, which, when you stop to think about it, involves a sin of racial prejudice in reverse. I have been guilty of this. Shortly after the explosion at Little Rock in the autumn of 1957 I found myself talking to Dr. Alfonso Elder, the Columbia-educated president of North Carolina College, a Negro school in Durham. I told him I had been deeply moved by the high courage of those nine Negro students as they went out utterly alone to run the gamut of hostility and danger and enter Central High.

"I am not sure," I said, "that anybody else could have done that."

"You are wrong," Dr. Elder replied rather sharply. "Courage is a human trait, not restricted to any race. If the tables had been turned, white children would have behaved the same."

**There, in a nutshell,** was the whole lesson. The Negro is simply fighting for full and recognized membership in the human race, with all its inherent strengths and weaknesses. In struggling to break the

bonds of his second-class citizenship he is demanding his constitutional right, nothing more.

Let this testimony stand against the absurd, fear-mongering charge of Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor of Birmingham, Ala., that the Negro is trying to establish "black supremacy." Let Commissioner Connor look only to the record of the bus boycott in his sister city of Montgomery, to learn the essence of what the racial issue is all about. It is not a sinister conspiracy of black hordes to impress a pagan supremacy on genteel citizens of lighter skin. It is not a swaggering ultimatum that a Negro shall marry your sister.

It is the insistence of some of the gentlest souls God ever fashioned to choose their own seat on a municipal bus, to travel afoot or on horseback, in a Cadillac convertible or to stay at home. In reaching out for these simple rights for himself, the Negro is doing something else for everybody. He is refreshing the roots of the tree of freedom.

There is the cause which I recommend. It is not a narrow cause. It is a cause which has been coursing like a great river through the terrain of history carrying with it since the beginning of man his fragile but persistent hopes for true freedom. We detach ourselves from this main stream at our own peril.



## *The Awakening Campus*

*by Mark Starr*

**During recent years** college youth and many of their teachers have displayed a great disinterest in the attempts by organized labor to secure improved conditions and a fairer distribution of income. Now there are signs that the McCarthy ice age is receding.

College students are discarding the slogan of safety first. Discussion groups and political activities are being started, notably in the nationwide picket lines in support of the Negro students protesting segregated

MARK STARR retired recently after a distinguished career as education director of the Ladies' Garment Workers.



eating facilities in stores in the South. Students are returning to their traditional involvement in the problems of mankind.

But what are their new concerns? What is their current thinking about the role of trade unions in a free society?

**It was to try** and answer such questions for the League for Industrial Democracy that the writer from mid-February to early April visited college classes and talked to students and professors, deans and a few college presidents.

Are the beatniks growing anything but beards? Are the neatniks doing anything beyond getting themselves measured for the grey flannel suit of conformity?

The conclusions are very tentative. Public talks and lectures, classes, interviews and phone conversations provide the basis for a suggestive sampling of what college youth thinks about labor. But these impressions agree with others who have recently been in contact with the campus.

It is only the opinion of the influential minority of students that is here noted. The great majority is still much more interested in sports than in social problems. Nevertheless, there is a growing serious section of young men and women with a zest for knowledge and an eager enthusiasm which bodes well for the future.

**A generation ago** that minority would have been in full sympathy with the trade unions and their goals and aspirations. There are still relics of labor and protest songs in the college songfest and guitar playing groups, but with no understanding, for example, of who Joe Hill was and why he was killed. He is reduced to a fictional folklore figure to sing about. Some of the satiric songs are very sick. One collection of such parodies of popular songs leads off with: "Behold the mushroom clouds of Spring, And see the atoms' fatal glow. Hear the mutant birdies sing, And watch the stunted children grow."

Twenty-five years ago, even in the craziest collection of gag songs, it would have been difficult to have found such an item as "Talking Management Blues," which concludes: "There's been a lot of talk of late, About big business being the thing to hate, But you'll find nothing bigger wherever you go, Than the AFL-CIO. Big Money and monopolistic? Ah, but why talk about it."

Dismiss this as youthful nonsense, but there can be no doubt that the students of today have been influenced by the continuing headlined exaggerations of the McClellan committee reports. In defiance of the fact that only one-third of persons working for wages and salaries are in unions, labor organizations are regarded as a monopoly, sometimes dominated by corrupt leaders who go into a huddle with employers to share the loot forced from the consumer. They overlook the testimony that the AFL-CIO is the only group which has taken action against corruption in labor-management relations.



On the campuses, here and there, are signs of ferment.

**Even in high school** groups there is the repeated question: Why do I have to join a union? Unions are thought to be mainly concerned with strikes. The exceptional unworthy leader, who has betrayed his trust, is taken as representative. Students bring in individual cases of possible misuse of union power. The indispensable collusion of employers, the police and of the courts in the rare cases of union corruption is completely overlooked.

Fortunately there are hopeful elements. The Challenge Group at Carleton College (Minnesota) which billed a meeting for the topic, "Trade Unions: Sinner, Saint or Socialist?" at least had varied alliterative union possibilities in mind. And over 300 students came to listen and to ask questions about unions for two hours.

**Student discussion** groups of varying hue were found in at least six colleges. Under the ambiguous title of SLATE in California, a non-partisan organization in four institutions was trying to elevate the elections of student representatives from superficial personal popularity contests into decisions on important principles.

The oldtime opposition to military training was present in one case and there was almost unanimous opposition to the loyalty oath as a condition for federal student aid. At Oberlin, where a large-scale mock political convention was in the making, the student organization was making sharp response to the congressional committee which had summoned students to explain why they had attended the Vienna Youth Conference in 1959.

**The large mass meetings** for Norman Thomas at the universities of Wisconsin and Michigan and elsewhere were an indication of the interest in the prevention of war. Several of the university groups had heard some of the younger physicists explain the dangers of nuclear war and the potentialities of the peacetime uses of atomic energy.



The interest in trade unions centered on the possible effects of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the shift to a type of unionism involving greater political activity, and curiosity about both the principles and personalities of labor leaders.

(Eight and 10 years ago, the college student was "decidedly conservative" in his political thinking and the overall impact of his stay in the ivied halls "nurtured a conservative economic philosophy" as well, according to Dr. Rose K. Goldsen of Cornell University.

(Dr. Goldsen directed a team which interviewed more than 5,000 students at 11 universities in 1950 and 1952. Her conclusions were recently published in "What College Students Think," a dissection of the interviews which reveals she found the collegians of that era "politically apathetic" at least in part because there were no "clearly defined programs around which to rally." So, she writes, they "played it cool" by withdrawing and refraining from identifying themselves with a political party label.)

**What ideas and ideals** would attract the favorable attention of youth in our colleges, many of whom will become the future representatives of labor and management? College youth today includes a greater number of the sons and daughters of trade union members than ever before. Trade union members should remember that their own offspring are not immune and may come under anti-union influences.

Unions are fighting to secure improvements for large sections of the population for which our boasted "affluence" is only a word. Their actions are directed to helping the one-fourth of our nation which is still ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed; they recognize that our neglected public spending still leaves us with tremendous and dangerous shortages in education, housing and health.

College youth should recognize that labor has new and separate values of its own; that it opposes all the cheap, superficial degradation of human life when profits are put above people; that the right of the worker to raise a grievance in the shop is essential to human dignity and freedom.

**Young men and women** in college do appreciate that democratic ideals must be put into overalls and applied to workshop problems. Indeed, to group men and women according to the work they do is just as important as to group them according to their place of residence. The what-do-you-do basis of organization enriches and supplements the where-do-you-live organization of citizens. Industrial democracy is as important as political.

Youth also responds to the basic need for mutual aid and collective action upon which the trade unions are based. Trade unions must plan for freedom from exploitation and for well-being and security. Unions are based on the recognition that we are our brother's keeper. From the first early battle for free public education in 1829, down to the current activity to

win fairer taxation, improved social security, improved education and the safeguarding of civil rights for all, the organized workers have never faltered in their efforts for community welfare.

**Unfortunately, the schools** and colleges are overwhelmed with pamphlets and extremely effective films which picture the unions as dangerous monopolies, limiting production, causing inflation and resorting to violence. Only the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Training Institute has made a widespread attempt to recruit college youth for careers in the union movement and the needs of this union are peculiar because of the high percentage of women in its membership.

Normally, on most college boards the job opening, scholarship and interview applications are concerned only with corporations. As already suggested, the many sons and daughters of trade union members should be assisted to present the case for trade unions to their fellow students and teachers. Upton Sinclair recalls that when he and Jack London set up the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society back in 1905, one of its aims was to teach the professors the social facts of life.

Already the AFL-CIO supplies speakers and consultants to college classes but the effort needs more stress. Union leaders, despite the many demands on their time and energy, should visit college assemblies and classes. They should work more closely with such agencies as the Joint Council of Economic Education, especially in its local workshops, and with college chapters of Students for a Democratic Society.

**The challenge now faced** by organized labor in the current widespread misrepresentation and in the industrial strikes at Kohler (in its seventh year), in Racine, Wis., at Henderson, N. C., in the Texas strike of the garment workers in San Antonio and in the greatly increased number of NLRB elections—all these will compel unions to return to basic principles and to a deeper understanding of the past, present and future of the union movement.

Automation not only makes necessary plans for up-grading of workers and their training for more skilled jobs, along with plans for placement in other employment and for severance pay; it also increases the strong trend to more white collar workers and technicians. Where else can labor more advantageously meet and influence those white collar workers than when they are in college? In time the sick songs of muddled youth can be replaced by Joe Glazer's "Songs of Work and Freedom."

Our angry young men can find other things to pull down than goal posts. Their protest against the intimidating conformity of their elders will no longer be expressed in beatnik nihilism. Parents, teachers and particularly those engaged in union education should be on the alert to welcome and assist these social stirrings so that student youth, in line with its traditional role, can see the visions will be applied to constructive activity.

# Eroded Public Services: The Price of Neglect

**In the 15 years** since the end of World War II, America has recorded an almost unbelievable growth in the total value of goods and services produced by its factories, mines, mills and business establishments. The once visionary goal of a gross national product of \$500 billion a year is now an immediate certainty.

But while amassing this tremendous wealth and demonstrating to an unbelieving world its productive capacities, America has starved out and is continuing to starve out the essential public services that affect every citizen.

Continual striving for higher and higher output is a major goal of our economy. But increased output by itself has little meaning unless it can be made to serve the interest of all citizens. This means bringing greater facilities to Americans, not only by expanding the goods and services produced by the economy, but also by expanding the vital public services on which the future health and well-being of the population depends.

**These public services** deal with the essentials of living—the education of the nation's children, improved housing, expanded hospital facilities, the development of natural resources and the necessary expansion in all fields of community services that affect hourly the lives of all Americans.

The starvation diet on which these facilities have been existing since 1946 has been lost in the very plethora of statistics about America's vast growth in productive capacity but it has been a very acute type of starvation in terms of expenditures by the federal government in this area.

Since 1946 we have devoted less than 20 percent

of the gross national product to the "public sector" of our economy. More than half this amount has been devoted to the needs of our national defense. Only 9 percent of the total goods and services produced during the postwar years has been used for non-military, public purposes.

In dollar terms, of the \$445 billion which has been spent for civilian functions, only \$86 billion, or less than 20 percent, has been spent by the federal government. The remainder has come from state and local sources.

**The minor role played** by the federal government in capital investments in civilian programs is clearly on the record. Yet, if the mounting needs of the American people for public facilities and public services are to be met, the federal government must shoulder a much larger share of the load. A noted economist, Professor Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard University, has estimated that one-fourth of our gross national product, or at the current rate about \$125 billion a year, should be allocated for public services.

There have been numerous studies and statistical analyses made of the glaring failure to provide essential public services in the postwar years, services needed to match the rapid growth of American population and the increasing demands of our economy. In almost every area—hospitals, schools, community centers, recreational facilities—shortages are the rule, not the exception.

Horace M. Gray, professor of economics at the University of Illinois, has written that "this prolonged neglect of the public economy has resulted in accumu-



ated deficiencies of alarming proportions: in education, scientific research, highways, local utilities, airports, low-cost housing, urban redevelopment, depressed areas, development of natural resources, energy supply, stream and air pollution, health and medical care, crime and juvenile delinquency, institutional care for dependent and aged persons and other vital social services."

**The above is** an exhaustive category of the public service needs we have not met. Here are some of the highlights:

One out of 8 cities today has a water shortage.

There is a shortage of 130,000 to 140,000 classrooms in our schools.

About 15 million American families are living in substandard dwellings.

The number of hospital and nursing home beds now available is about one-half short of existing needs.

**When the public schools** opened in the fall of 1959, their enrollment was more than 1.5 million above the normal capacity of available classrooms. Public school enrollment has been growing by leaps and bounds. The annual rate of increase was about 500,000 from 1945 to 1950. From 1950 to 1958, the rate about doubled to 1 million a year. There will be a further acceleration in the next 5-year period during which school enrollment is expected to jump by some 6 million to a total of about 40 million. From 1959 to 1964, the annual rate of increase will rise to about 1.2 million.

Official administration estimates indicate a need for 285,000 new classrooms between 1959 and 1964—201,000 to take care of rising enrollment and 84,000 to replace deteriorating school buildings and facilities that are destroyed by fire, flood, or roadbuilding.

These estimates are undoubtedly too low because they take no account of classroom requirements resulting from population shifts. These requirements, plus the present backlog of needed classrooms, indicates that some 500,000 new classrooms should become available the next 5 years, or 100,000 a year.

**This compares with** the current construction rate of 60,000 to 70,000 classrooms a year with a probable downturn anticipated even from this inadequate level in the period ahead.

Some 96 percent of the total school construction cost is borne by local and state governments, while only about 4 percent is met from federal funds. The burden of financing local school construction is becoming intolerable for many local communities.

Progress toward elimination of the classroom shortage can only be achieved by federal grants-in-aid to the states for public school construction. The alternatives are clear: either a comprehensive program of federal aid for public school construction or a continuing and increasing shortage of classrooms.

**One-fourth of all** occupied dwellings in the United States—about 13 million in all—do not meet minimum requirements for family living. An estimated additional 2 million or so dwellings are in livable physical condition, but they are located in run-down neighborhoods that make poor homes for growing children. Thus, some 15 million American families, one-fourth of the total number, are forced to live in substandard dwellings.

About 35 million new housing units must be built in the next 15 years in order to provide a decent home for every American family by 1975. This will require an annual rate of housing starts of at least 2.3 million units. This is nearly two-thirds above the estimated average construction rate of 1.4 million new housing units a year during the past 5 years.


In 1956, more than 8 million families with yearly incomes of less than \$4,000 lived in substandard housing. They represented nearly two-thirds of all families living in substandard housing. But in 1958 less than 2.5 percent of purchasers of new single-family houses under the FHA program had "effective annual incomes" of less than \$4,000. And the FHA estimates of "effective annual income" understates actual family incomes by 15 or 20 percent.

Because of the drastic cutbacks in public housing construction, the low-rent public housing program has







**285,000 CLASS ROOMS  
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BY 1964**




**35,000,000 HOUSING UNITS  
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NEXT 15 YEARS**




**DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF HOSPITAL  
AND NURSING  
HOME BEDS  
NEEDED NOW!**



**ONE OUT OF EVERY EIGHT CITIES  
HAS  
INADEQUATE  
WATER SUPPLY**



**HIGHWAY PROGRAM LAGS FAR  
BEHIND NEED  
NOW!**



met the housing needs of only a small proportion of ill-housed, low-income families. Since 1949, when Congress authorized construction of 810,000 public housing units over a 6-year period, only about 250,000 units have been constructed. This means that during the past decade public housing construction has met the needs of only 3 percent of low-income families living in substandard housing.

Low-rent public housing offers the only effective way to make decent housing available to low-income families. No better substitute has been suggested for the present financial formula involving a relatively small federal subsidy, long-term, low-cost financing in the private bond market and sponsorship and operation by housing authorities established by local communities.

When the original public housing program was authorized in 1949, the late Senator Robert A. Taft, one of its chief congressional sponsors, expressed the view that public housing should account for at least 10 percent of all new residential construction. If that objective is to be met, the annual construction rate should be at least 200,000 to 250,000. Even this

would provide rehousing opportunities for only a fraction of ill-housed, low-income families.

In 1958 a family required a \$9,000 income to buy an FHA house without committing itself for more than 20 percent of family income for housing expense. According to the Federal Reserve Board, only 20 percent of families had incomes of \$7,500 or over in that year. An even smaller proportion of families had incomes of \$9,000.

**A far more effective** program is needed to make good homes available to workers' and other middle-income families at costs they can afford. No subsidy is needed to achieve this purpose. All that is required is bold action to cut as sharply as possible financial charges and rents for new homes.

If financial charges are reduced by lowering the interest rate and lengthening the repayment period, a much larger proportion of middle-income families could purchase homes within their means.

Funds available for urban redevelopment have been so limited that only a small beginning has been made. At least \$1 billion a year in federal funds is needed to put this program on anything like an adequate basis. Slum clearance and urban redevelopment efforts must be concentrated first and foremost on bettering the housing conditions of the community and especially of its worst-housed members.

**The U.S. Public Health Service** estimated in mid-1959 that the nation was short more than 1 million hospital and nursing home beds. The total number of beds available was only a little more than half of the number required.

Existing programs will permit construction of somewhat over half of the needed hospital facilities. But unless construction is stepped up over expected levels there will be a large deficit of urgently needed hospital facilities for a long time to come.

During the postwar period, expansion of hospital services has been stimulated by the national hospital construction program begun in 1948 following the adoption of the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey & Construction Act. Under this program states and local governments provide, on the average, over \$2 for every \$1 of federal grants for the construction of health facilities. The law attempts to place federal support in the states with lowest income.

**Population growth**, the increasing number of older people and many previous years of lag in hospital building and remodeling have all resulted in a drastic shortage of health facilities. The most serious deficiencies are in the mental hospitals, chronic illness facilities, nursing homes and diagnostic centers. The shortage is nationwide.

Additional hospital facilities will by no means meet the total requirement for medical care facilities. According to state reports received by the U.S. Public Health Service there is a need for over 5,000 public health centers to provide such services as immuniza-



tions, maternal and child health clinics, nursing services and communicable disease controls; 15,000 diagnostic or treatment centers for non-hospitalized patients; and more than 500 comprehensive rehabilitation centers to assist handicapped people.

Progress toward meeting these requirements can be made if sufficient federal funds are made available each year by Congress and the President for the Hill-Burton program. Until 1959, federal funds for this program were only about \$120 million a year with a rise to \$186 million for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1959.

There will not be adequate progress toward meeting requirements unless much higher appropriations are made for construction of new facilities. Additional amounts will be needed for federal financial assistance to state and local governments for modernizing and remodeling older health facilities.

**Many communities** are finding it increasingly difficult to provide necessary roads, airports, water supply systems, sewage disposal facilities, libraries, parks and other recreational facilities, and a host of other necessary public necessities.

One of the most serious problems has been the lack of adequate local transportation facilities. The rapid growth of the suburbs, the increased ownership of automobiles, and expansion in the use of trucks have all put an insuperable burden on our existing roads and highways. The federal government has now moved into this area by developing an expanded federal program to provide funds for construction of interstate highways. Yet, too often it is the network of secondary roads that most needs improvements. States and localities find that the funds available to them for road construction and repair totally are inadequate.

A nationwide disgrace is the pollution of our water supply. Expanded federal financial assistance is needed to meet the capital costs of water facilities. It is estimated that construction of waste treatment facilities for all presently outdated industrial and municipal facilities will cost about \$5 billion. This calls for federal financial assistance for that part of the program beyond the capabilities of local governments.

The recreational facilities available are woefully inadequate. Very few localities have had the foresight to set aside land for parks, playgrounds, or other types of recreational areas. Because of other pressing needs, communities now find that they simply do not have the money to purchase and develop the necessary land for recreational areas. Federal financial assistance will be needed to help communities meet their needs for parks and other recreational facilities.

**Although the demands** on the nation's natural resources during the past decade have been enormous, within the next 25 to 50 years the calls upon our crop and grazing lands, timber, minerals, water and energy sources will expand on a scale that will dwarf present requirements.

By 1975, there will be vast increases in use of water, continued encroachment of city and public facilities on farmland at the rate of 2 million acres annually, a continuing increase in food requirements, tremendous expansion in the use of raw materials, and demands for vast expansion of outdoor recreational facilities for more people with greater leisure. In addition, the nation will require electric energy in quantity three times that of today, and timber in greatly expanded amounts.

Water is the key resource used for more purposes than any other. Unfortunately, our water is not effectively utilized. Some 675 million acre-feet run to the ocean every year, while drought and depletion of underground water tables have caused serious regional water shortages in such places as the Dust Bowl area and in California.

Demands for water are growing at an ever-increasing rate. From 1900 to 1950, U.S. population doubled, but water consumption for all purposes quadrupled. In addition to increased demands for water supply resulting from growing population, there will be expanding new uses for water in the home for air conditioning, automatic washing machines and the like. Moreover, advances in technology have added to industrial water requirements, much of which is for water of better quality. Water is also needed for reclamation and irrigation. According to the U.S. Geological Survey, as a result of all of these demands upon our water supply, water requirements will rise from 256 billion gallons in 1958 to about 512 billion gallons in 1975.

**The unified river basin** development as epitomized by the Tennessee Valley Authority is the best coordinated approach to water and power requirements. Without this approach there can be at best a fragmented handling of such important programs as soil conservation, forestry, flood control, irrigation, navigation, and of pollution abatement. Moreover, regional development through river valley authorities

We should spend  
a minimum of 20% of our  
annual income on  
public services



can eliminate jurisdictional in-fighting between various federal resources agencies.

There should be vigorous reaffirmation of the federal government's role as principal steward of the nation's resources, and that broad federal planning, construction, and management of comprehensive resources programs, keyed to national economic goals, is a proper, constitutional, and necessary function of the national government.

The United States must sharply increase its natural resources investment, which has dropped sharply in the past 6 years. Natural resources investment programs should be on a scale necessary not only to aid in sustaining economic growth but to stimulate additional economic expansion. Such investments have the added benefit of being, in the main, self-liquidating.

**The funds necessary** to correct the basic imbalance in our economy and to assure growth in the public service area as well as the growth of the economy must be furnished by the federal government.

Local communities do not have available sources of tax revenue to meet these needs. The limitation of the real estate property tax and restrictions on borrowing, combined with the raise in interest rates, have generally curbed local communities from acting.

The federal government will have to assume a much larger role in providing public facilities and public services, either through a loan program, grants and aid, expanded appropriations or other machinery. The superior tax collecting resources of the federal government must be mobilized to help raise minimum public service standards.



**Recent events** in South Africa, culminating in the shooting of 300 unarmed Africans from behind by the police, have focused world attention on the position of the worker in that country. Still more shocking is the use of horse whips on Cape Town African workers of Langa who were hounded by police to force them to their jobs in order to break up the nationwide work stoppage. The workers were greeted at the gate by guns to prevent them from leaving their jobs.

Such accounts are so hideous that to an American worker, to whom work and stoppage of work are inalienable rights and not privileges, they must appear to be exaggerations. The Negro people of the world generally, in America, Africa or elsewhere, have borne so much of this tyrannical license that somehow or other they have lost their bitterness about it, seek to forget it wherever possible, and concentrate on hopes for a brighter day. Consequently they see hope where there is little or none. In the Union of South Africa, which claims to be democratic, these are daily occurrences. One policeman was reported recently to have the proud record of killing 13 Africans "in the normal pursuit of his duty."

## Background To Tyranny

by Mlaheni Njisane

It is so easy to silence an African and to hide these facts that in South West Africa, which the union has virtually annexed against United Nations pleas, Africans find it difficult to get lawyers to defend them in cases which involve the government and its officers. African lawyers from the union are not allowed easy entrance into that country to defend them.

**It is, above all,** a crime to write as I do, even bordering on treason. This is the reason for the opening paragraph, an accurate characterization of the police force, the white officials and cabinet ministers brutalized by a system so harsh and inhuman that it is difficult to believe. This article will deal with the basic assumptions and reasoning that underlie much of this system and the apartheid policy, which can be simply defined as "white supremacy," designed to "preserve white (so-called) civilization" by destroying Africans wherever they refuse to bow down to servitude.

The government has reason to boast in the April issue of the South African Scope that West Driefontein "is the first gold mine in the world to break through

the million-a-month profit barrier" because the whole economy thrives on forced labor, underpaid and reduced to the status of mere subsistence. Between contract and convict labor there is only a technical difference.

As far back as the historical Slachters' Nek Rebellion 150 years ago, the Boers asserted their claim that it was interference for the law to bring them to book for ill-treating their servants, Africans or Hottentots. This is reiterated in modern times in the UN when the world questions the inhuman treatment of African laborers and the indiscriminate killings by the police whom the system has successfully dehumanized and brutalized.

**There have been 105 major clashes between the Africans and the law since the Nationalist government**

of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

De Kiewiet, the great Afrikaner historian, further amplifies this point:

"What an abundance of rain and grass was to New Zealand mutton, what plenty of cheap grazing land was to Australian wool, what fertile prairie acres were to Canadian wheat, cheap labour was to South African mining and industrial enterprise." (A Social and Economic History of South Africa.)

Considered as raw material the Africans provided the whites with a real promise of being emancipated permanently from work, at least from hard manual labor, thus ascribing to the African a permanent subordinate position to maintain which the European had to justify his own superiority.

**Another modern version** of this idea is expressed in the objective of the Mosleyite Union Movement formed in Johannesburg in 1958, namely, to retain Africa for the Europeans as "the last great living space left to Europe."

Through all of these pronouncements runs the idea of the Africans as a means to satisfy the needs of the Europeans. It is this Europeans' adjustment to the presence of Africans in Africa which gives to black-white relationships the economic interpretation of master and servant. It also explains the absolute power of whites over blacks in all spheres and the paramountcy of white interests in South Africa.

It was Prime Minister Verwoerd who argued to suggest that we are economically integrated because there are Africans in industry; this is to imply that oxen are also economically integrated because they are used in the economic system. Both in the pronouncements by ministers of state and through the laws this definition of the status of the African worker is re-specified, and the emphasis is on using him until he is ready to be dumped into the reserves which he might never have known.

**Pass laws were** first imposed on Hottentot slaves in 1760, and the notion behind them was that they must have a fixed abode which they could not leave without a pass issued by their masters. In the modern context the fixed abode for the African is the reserve from which he cannot move without a pass. The present government calls these areas African "homelands" without, of course, mentioning that they constitute 13 percent of the total area of South Africa, that they already carry a de jure population (i.e., including people who are at the time of the census away in the cities and therefore expected to return) of 4.2 million as against 2.4 million regarded by the Tomlinson Commission Report as their maximum carrying capacity under optimum conditions, making the so-called reserves the most congested rural areas in

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took over in 1948. The system of apartheid has placed petty white officials, from the raw police recruit of 18 to the cabinet minister, above and beyond the law, and there is also the tendency now to include such provisions in every law that has to do with the discriminatory treatment of Africans.

This explains the government's crass cynicism and contempt for human dignity and especially for black opinion. Immediately after the shooting and killing of Africans in Sharpeville, Prime Minister Verwoerd praised the police for shooting (from behind) and killing some 50 Africans.

Acting Prime Minister Eric Louw with his usual flair for flagrant arrogance and contempt for world opinion has even asserted that the voteless, rightless, propertyless African has no complaint. He has probably never spoken to an African, except in London or New York.

**The Stallard Commission** of 1921 reaffirmed the historic attitudes in these words:

"The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs



the country. The myth of the African "homeland" is, therefore, a political fraud. The reserves are a cheap labor reservoir camp calculated never to support its population. Sixty percent of the Africans are already in areas other than those designated as their "homelands."

The political hoax is pointed up when one examines the laws which reveal that the African cannot claim inalienable rights anywhere, cannot own immovable property anywhere, and that he has been systematically dispossessed in places like Sophiatown, Charleston and elsewhere.

**Under the Native Administration Amendment Act of 1956**, an African or a tribe can be banished or removed at the discretion of the Governor-General (Native Affairs Minister). There is no trial, no appeal against such arbitrary powers, and the reasons may be furnished only after the ban has been carried out, and only so much information given as the minister chooses. This law was passed to deprive Africans of legal rights enjoyed by other ethnic groups.

Under this law Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng of Paarl, president of the African Food & Canning Workers' Union, was banished in October 1959 and ordered to leave her home, work, husband and 11 children without trial or public hearing or possibility of appeal, and to go to a bleak wilderness where the only choice of work would be to become a domestic servant of white engineers.

Just as the government now holds thousands of people without trial there are other such people about whom nothing will ever be heard.

Verwoerd, referring to the case of Mrs. Mafekeng, said that "if a native comes to live in a white area like Paarl, he or she must behave in such a manner that it is not necessary to take any action to maintain peace and good order. If not, they must leave the white areas and find their homes somewhere in the native areas." This is the same viewpoint as that General J. B. Hertzog expressed in 1936 against an anti-pass raid riot in what is now Sharpeville. The fact of the matter is that the African is at the mercy of the white, and the white petty official wields a power of life and death over him, while the white ruler enjoys wide rights of impunity from the rule of law where his activities have to do with Africans. This is a curious example of tyranny becoming a disease and encouraging unethical, illegal tendencies in rulers.

**As far back as 1895** the Chamber of Mines demonstrated clearly the purpose of the passes in a memorandum which declared: "Owing to the existing inadequate pass laws and regulations for the control of native labour, it is impossible to secure such combination on the part of the employers as would enable native wages to be reduced to a reasonable level." In 1897 the Mining Industry Commission wanted the law applied "more stringently."

Some farmers depend on the operation of the pass laws to get convict labor for their farm work and an



A day of mourning for victims of Sharpeville shootings saw young Africans jeer police near Johannesburg.

average of about 6,000 prisoners per day are employed by private employers one-tenth of whom are on farms. Most of these prisoners are induced to sign contracts in order to waive persecution. It takes months before the relatives know what has happened to the arrested person. The disappearance of an African, especially in some of the large cities, has come to be regarded with decreasing alarm.

**The noble intentions** imputed to the pass laws are expressed either as the "preservation of white civilization" or "humanitarian paternal protection" of the African himself, protection for human rights and the dignity of the individual, under which protection Africans have died as victims of government's "police actions."

There is a dual religious morality found in this schizophrenic society, with the hypocritical misuse of Christianity by the ruling power-group and the ignorant fanatical protagonists of apartheid following the usual pattern found in other dictatorships.

No picture of apartheid is complete without reference or even mention of the most notorious citadel of the caste structure. The Bantu Education Act of 1952 provides the intellectual basis for the indoctrination of the African and his accommodation to his subordinate status. No one is allowed to teach the African anything without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

Verwoerd, accusing the missionaries of providing a liberal type of education not in sympathy with the government policies of apartheid, decided that Africans must not be allowed to aspire to "green pastures" which are the preserves of Europeans.

**Universities also** are now under the control of the government, and no longer can exercise the traditional autonomy of deciding who is going to teach whom if it involves the African. It is a crime in such tribal universities to criticize the government. It is an education for subordination in which you cannot choose your destiny.

Under the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, the



pass laws were codified to enforce segregation of African residential areas called "locations." To enter these you must have a permit. The locations are subject to regular and brutal police raids. They are many miles from places of work. The Urban Areas Act also provides for curfew regulations in the cities on all Africans. The Native Registration Regulations, one of the most sinister devices, treats the African worker as a commodity by giving the government complete monopoly over the distribution of African labor.

A boy of 16 in Kokstad (a town in the so-called "African area of the Transkei") applied for a permit to look for work. He was assigned to a particular domestic job registered with the office. After two visits to the house without meeting anyone, he was offered a job by the next-door European housewife at nearly twice the promised amount in the first. So she drove him to register his employment under the law. The registering officer, infuriated that his orders had not been obeyed, instead gave the boy a letter of ejectment to leave Kokstad in 72 hours. Peter Brown (now arrested under the present emergency regulations) and I provided for the defense of the boy and saved him from the penalty of leaving his parents who had lived in that town since 1912, and where he was born and lived all his life.

**The Native's Prohibition of Interdicts Acts of 1956**, the notorious "sentence now and the verdict after" law, now would make such an appeal against removal illegal. The African must obey, if he is to remain in his place.

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 legally places the African in the absolute power of the European worker and European employer. African trade unions are not recognized and strikes are a criminal offense. The minister is empowered to proclaim the level above which an African worker

After demonstrations African workers who had burned their job passes line up in Johannesburg to get new ones.



cannot rise in certain jobs, and in that way reserve jobs for whites. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, declared in 1957 that "some of these natives abuse their presence within the white urban area to trade in competition with the white traders. . . . That certainly is not something I am prepared to tolerate. . . . The native has a privileged position in the location area."

He omitted to mention that the African cannot own property and must have a permit to enter such a location.

**Under the Group Areas Act of 1957**, which seeks to deter equal status contact between blacks and whites, the idea is that eventually there will be division even among the non-whites, that Africans will be prohibited from patronizing Indian cinemas, or hiring premises from anyone else but an African. In 1956 a number of African traders were unable to carry on their business because they did not have the permission of the minister to occupy premises they had leased for some years. An African lawyer was denied permission to occupy chambers next to the court and was told to go to the location 10 miles out and away from the court where other lawyers were located. Even African doctors have been similarly affected, and this is the surest way of undermining their successful practices. As a condition of the government loan scholarships to study medicine, non-whites are made to declare that they will not practice among and on European patients, in conflict with their Hippocratic oath.

For some time the old fraud of "separate but equal" was used in government circles, but the present government found it cumbersome and vexing, in fact not in line with their policy, and so passed the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act in 1953, in order to override a court's insistence on equality. Said the then Minister of Justice Swart: "The court's decision that separate facilities must be more or less equal creates an impossible situation."

H. G. Lawrence, now leader of the so-called Progressives, said:

**"We realize that, having regard to the set-up of our people, the different racial groups and the circumstances and the extent of developments of those groups, it is not practicable or wise or necessary to give exactly the same facilities to every section."**

It is not surprising that the government can boast of mines that can make a million dollars per month profits, and it is not surprising that the whites, at the expense of the Africans, enjoy such a very artificial high standard of living.

In a 1954 study of nine African townships in Johannesburg, it was shown that 87 percent of working African families lived below the minimum wage level. The trend of the present government is to reduce every African to the lowest denominator, while gauging the Europeans by using the best among them as the standard, and then protecting the inefficiency of the others by means of laws.

# Reports, Forms, Reports— Legacy from Landrum-Griffin

by J. Albert Woll

Second of a Series

**The bill that became** the Landrum-Griffin Act started out primarily as a reporting measure. Proponents felt that if employers and unions were required to make public their activities and expenditures in the labor relations field, they would desire to avoid embarrassing disclosures or criminal prosecutions for false reports.

This "goldfish bowl" existence was thus expected to foster proper conduct. Furthermore, reporting would enable union members themselves to take corrective action against any possible abuses which might be exposed. Certain basic safeguards for union elections were also to be provided.

This concept ran afoul of powerful anti-labor forces. Less interested in labor reform than in cutting down the effectiveness of labor unions, reactionary groups seized the opportunity to press upon Congress a measure which would minutely regulate almost every aspect of a union's day-to-day operations, and which would hamstring it by curtailing traditional methods of organizing workers and carrying on collective bargaining.

**The reactionary opportunists** succeeded. Of Landrum-Griffin's seven titles, only one title and a part of another deal with union and employer reporting. The original disclosure concept survives only in these two titles and in the ironically worded official name—the "Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959." But for all this, knowledge of the reporting requirements is still essential for persons engaged in labor relations.

Six different types of reports must be filed with the Secretary of Labor. One report must be filed by employers who make certain types of labor relations disbursements. Another report is required of labor relations consultants if they engage in certain types of activities. The other four kinds of reports are to be filed by unions and union personnel.

**Union Information Report**—Every union must file an initial report on its organizational structure and operating procedures within 90 days after it becomes subject to the act. For most unions this meant that the first report had to be filed by Dec. 14, 1959. This information report is to be signed by the union's president and secretary.

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The Secretary of Labor has supplied Form LM-1 for unions to use in filing the required data. The information which must be reported parallels, in somewhat greater detail, the information that formerly had to be filed in order to comply with Sec. 9(f) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Every union is required to adopt a constitution and bylaws and file a copy with the organizational report. The Secretary of Labor has interpreted this to mean that a union need not readopt a constitution and bylaws already in existence.

Furthermore, he recognizes that a local may have adopted an international's constitution as its sole constitution and bylaws, either by formal action or by the act of affiliating with the international. In this event the local need not file a constitution and bylaws, provided the international has filed a copy of its constitution on behalf of itself and all affiliated locals. However, if local unions have adopted bylaws of their own, these must be filed along with the local's organizational report.

Any changes in the information required by the organizational report regarding internal procedures must be reported on Form LM-1A at the time the union files its annual financial report. A union that goes out of existence or loses its identity as a reporting organization is to file a terminal report within 30 days, according to the Secretary of Labor.

**Union Financial Report**—Every union must file an annual financial report within 90 days after the end of its fiscal year. The union president and treasurer are to sign this report. Terminal financial reports are required by the Secretary of Labor within 30 days of a union's dissolution.

The secretary has supplied two forms, LM-2 and LM-3, for unions to use in reporting their finances. LM-3 is a short form, two pages long, which may be used by a union with gross annual receipts (whether or not actually income to the organization) of less than \$20,000, if filing the regular detailed report would be unduly burdensome. All other unions must report finances on Form LM-2, which calls for eight pages of detailed figures and information.

Union financial reports require the listing of assets and liabilities at the beginning and the end of the fiscal year, and receipts and disbursements during the year. Each of these general classifications must be reported in numerous separate breakdowns.

The Secretary of Labor and the AFL-CIO differed sharply over the detailed reporting of expense money for union officers and employees which is required by Schedule F of the financial form prescribed by the secretary. In the language of the statute, there must be reported "salary, allowances, and other direct or indirect disbursements (including reimbursed expenses) to" each officer and to certain specified employees.

**The federation argued that** a union should not have to allocate to a specifically named individual payments made directly by the union to a railroad for tickets for its president when he is on a business trip, or payments for the rental of a business manager's office, or payments for stationery supplies used by its treasurer. In none of these cases, the federation pointed out, does the union officer himself make the expenditure. He does not even handle any money. Thus the expenses are not "reimbursed" within the meaning of the statute. Nor is there any disbursement "to" the official. And as a practical matter, allocating such expenses to individual officers rather than reporting them merely as general disbursements could be a heavy administrative burden on a union.

The Secretary of Labor came up with a rather illogical ruling on the problem. He requires the specific allocation to each officer and employee of all disbursements for such expenses as travel, hotels and meals. This is so even though the expense is incurred wholly on behalf of the union and even though payment is made directly by the union to the railroad, hotel or restaurant, with the union official or employee never seeing the money.

On the other hand, the secretary concludes that paying for office supplies, equipment and facilities for union officials does not constitute a disbursement to such officials within the meaning of the act. Therefore, such payments need not be allocated to individual officers or employees.

No satisfactory explanation has been supplied for treating payments for office supplies differently from payments for railroad tickets, when both the office supplies and the travel are for the benefit of the union and not for the personal benefit of a union official, and are paid for directly by the union.

**Union Officers and Employees Report**—Union officers and employees must file an annual report if they have engaged in certain specified transactions which may result in a potential "conflict of interest" between their personal financial interests and their obligations toward their union and its membership. This report must be filed within 90 days after the end of each individual's fiscal year, which ordinarily ends on Dec. 31.

A union official is also required to file if his wife or a minor child is involved in a potential "conflict of interest" situation. But no official need make any report unless he or a member of his family has engaged in one of the specified types of conduct. A person employed by a union as a clerk or guard is not subject to the union employee reporting requirements.

The image shows a large stack of forms from the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. The top form is titled "LABOR ORGANIZATION INFORMATION REPORTING" and "LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT". Below it is another form titled "LABOR ORGANIZATION FINANCIAL REPORTING". The forms contain various sections for reporting on union activities, including "STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES", "STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS", and "STATEMENT OF PAYMENTS". A man is sitting at a desk, writing on one of the forms. The forms are numbered and dated, with some indicating "Public Law 86-357" and "Monday, September 14, 1959".



Most of the specified "conflict of interest" situations involve a company which the official's union has organized or is trying to organize. The union official may have stock or some other interest in the company. Or he may have received income above and beyond payments received as a regular company employee.

He may have bought or sold stock in such a company, either for himself or for others. The employer might have engaged in some type of business transaction or arrangement with the union man. Or the latter may hold stock in, or receive income from, a business which has substantial dealings with the company organized by his union.

**A union official must** report any of these relationships with a company organized by his union. In addition, he has to report any stock he holds in, or any income received from, a business which deals with his union itself. This would cover the firm which sells the union office supplies or which prints the union's journal.

Finally, a union official is told to report any payments received from any employer or labor relations consultant, except payments referred to in Sec. 302(c) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The latter section excludes such payments as dues received under a valid check-off arrangement and money paid in to an authorized union trust fund. A union official can be guilty of a crime in receiving employer payments not covered by the section. Therefore demanding a report on such payments may be unconstitutional under the Fifth Amendment's self-incrimination clause.

**The reporting requirements** generally do not apply to income or other benefits received by a union official in his capacity as a bona fide employee. And no report is necessary regarding purchases and sales of goods in the regular course of business at prices generally available to any employee. Ordinarily, there need not be reported investments in securities subject to federal registration, such as securities traded on a registered national stock exchange.

A union official would apparently not have to report if he purchases stock under a standard employee stock option plan where the stock is subject to federal registration. And nominal gifts from employers, such as a box of cigars at Christmas, would probably not

have to be reported. But whenever a union official suspects he may have a reportable item, the only safe thing to do is obtain legal advice.

The Secretary of Labor has recently indicated that no report is necessary on certain payments received by employees for time spent in activities other than their regular work, such as collective bargaining or grievance handling. To be exempt from reporting, such activities must be carried on under the terms or practices of a collective bargaining agreement, or under an employment policy or practice adopted without regard to whether an employee holds a union position.

**Trusteeship Reports**—Any union that places a trusteeship over a subordinate union must file a trusteeship report within 30 days, and additional ones every six months thereafter while the trusteeship lasts. These reports have to be signed by the president and treasurer of the union imposing the trusteeship and by the trustees appointed to take charge of the subordinate union. A detailed statement of the reason for establishing or continuing the trusteeship must be supplied. There must also be outlined the role of the trustee union's members in selecting delegates to conventions and in electing officers of its parent union.

The first trusteeship report has to contain a complete financial statement regarding the trustee union as of the time the trusteeship was established. During a trusteeship the annual financial report required of all unions is to be filed on behalf of the trustee union by its parent union, signed by the latter's president and treasurer and by the trustees in charge of the trustee union.

The parent organization imposing the trusteeship is to file a terminal financial report within 30 days after lifting the trusteeship. The annual and the terminal financial reports of unions in trusteeship are to be filed on Form LM-2. The short form, LM-3, may not be used for trustee unions.

**Enforcement**—The reporting provisions are subject to both criminal and civil sanctions, including injunctions. However, failure to file does not cut off access to the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board, as was the case under Sections 9(f), (g) and (h) of the Taft-Hartley Act. These sections were repealed by the Landrum-Griffin Act.

**Reporting Timetable**—Unions and union representatives are now under a continuing obligation to file periodic reports on many of their activities. The following schedule should be kept in mind:

1. A union's annual financial report is due 90 days after the end of its fiscal year. For most unions this means the deadline is Mar. 31 (Mar. 30 in leap years!) or Sept. 28. Changes in constitutional provisions or internal union procedures must be reported at the same time.
2. Trusteeship reports are due within 30 days after a union is placed in trusteeship, and every 6 months thereafter.

3. Terminal reports are due within 30 days after a union dissolves or has a trusteeship over it lifted.
4. A union official's "conflict of interest" report is due within 90 days after the end of any fiscal year in which he has a reportable matter. Ordinarily this will mean he must report by Mar. 31.

# The Union Contract and Safety

by George Brown



**Every year since** shortly after the end of World War II nearly 2 million American workers have suffered on-the-job injuries serious enough to keep them from their daily employment.

For about 14,000 of them each year injury means working days are over, for their injuries are fatal. In addition, about 85,000 are permanently disabled. There is tragic economic loss too—some \$2 billion a year in wages alone for the workers, almost countless millions of man-days in production.

Last year was no better than usual. In fact, it was a little worse than 1958, a reflection at least in part of recovery from the sharp drop in employment that marked the recession and resulted in a lowering of the "exposure rate." Preliminary estimates of the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics are that 1,970,000 workers suffered injuries in 1959 serious enough to keep them from their jobs for at least one day after the day they were hurt. In 1958 there were 1,820,000 such injuries. The preliminary industrial accident rate for 1959 was 11.9 for each 1 million employe manhours worked, an increase of one full point over 1958.

**The trade union movement** regards these grim figures with the seriousness they deserve. After all, it doesn't profit a union much to win good wages and pensions for a member if he isn't going to be around to enjoy them.

The 1959 AFL-CIO convention "put a union label on safety" by directing its Committee on Safety and Occupational Health, headed by Vice President Richard F. Walsh, to establish an AFL-CIO trade union safety movement.

It instructed the committee to invite all national and international unions, state bodies and departments to an annual national conference on safety and occu-

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pational health "dedicated to the principle of cooperation between labor and management so that progress shall be achieved by positive prevention of accidental death and injuries rather than through tragedy."

Delegates to the first conference couldn't help wondering about the extent to which labor-management relations have been utilized to promote occupational safety and health through collective bargaining agreements. So they recommended that the committee conduct a survey to find out just how many contracts have safety clauses, and what they cover.

**The first fruits** of the study are now available. Some 50 unions cooperated, an indication in itself that unions are seriously concerned with the problem. The resulting picture was rather strangely mottled; it showed broad use of labor-management relations to achieve the goal, but the depth of the approach has not been uniformly developed among AFL-CIO affiliates.

The cooperating international unions submitted approximately 7,000 contracts to the committee for examination. Nearly two-thirds of them contained safety clauses. By comparison, a somewhat similar study in 1956 showed that an estimated 50 to 60 percent of all union contracts had safety clauses.

Some international unions had no contracts containing safety clauses. Indeed, some of the government employe unions—but not all—lacked even agreements. Other affiliates reported that matters of safety were controlled by federal legislation which was hardly more than mentioned in the contracts. Still others operated under state or local health and safety laws.

While some affiliates in the sample had safety clauses in 100 percent of their agreements, there were others with only a rare safety proviso in the contracts they submitted.

**There is a need to add** to the depth of this form of protection; a need for a major effort in collective bargaining to stimulate every affiliate to work toward the 100 percent goal of "safety by contract" wherever it is practical. This goal is within reach, thanks to the past efforts of individual unions. Safety and occupational health are as much a part of the contract as wages, hours and other working conditions.

Of all the contracts submitted which had safety clauses, 40 percent gave union members an active role on safety committees. Of course, what an "active role" means has many interpretations. It can mean that the safety committee has equal labor and management representation; it can mean several management representatives and just one lone union representative; or it can mean several committees, related though separate, with one made up exclusively of worker representatives.

Only about 15 percent of the contracts with safety clauses granted equal joint participation on safety committees to labor and management.

Here again the different individual unions had varying records. A few showed equal and joint representa-

tion in all their contracts, but the typical union had it in less than 25 percent of its agreements.

**This finding gives** a hollow ring to the pleading of many managements for "cooperation" between labor and management in the safety and occupational health area. There is no denying that management has a "right" to provide safe and healthful working places for wage earners. Equally so, no one can deny the "right" of union members whose lives and limbs are in jeopardy to take active steps to insure their safety on the job. Common sense, therefore, dictates that labor and management have a joint duty to achieve the goal. The means to that end is the joint and equal labor-management safety committee.

Two facts are clear. Joint committees are in daily use; they are no mere theory of the labor movement. Secondly, the trade union movement is faced with the practical problem of making truly joint committees universal. It cannot be given the duty of "cooperating" with management without being given the right to participate equally.

Specific provisions making the grievance machinery available for safety problems were found in 97 percent of the contracts with safety clauses. Where such provisos were missing, the right to use the grievance setup for this purpose was established by common practice.

**Perhaps no finding** of the study underscored more heavily the fact that the trade union movement considers safety an integral part of labor-management relations. It demonstrated the unassailable fact that all unions believe their bargaining relationships include safety matters. "Safety by contract" is a practical approach of trade unionism.

This use of the grievance machinery, both regular and special, is an effective answer to critics of labor's role in safety. Time and again such critics have alleged that the unions will not tolerate enforcement and disciplining of their members for safety matters.

But nowhere in the safety clauses submitted is there any indication that a member cannot be disciplined for just cause, subject to the grievance machinery.

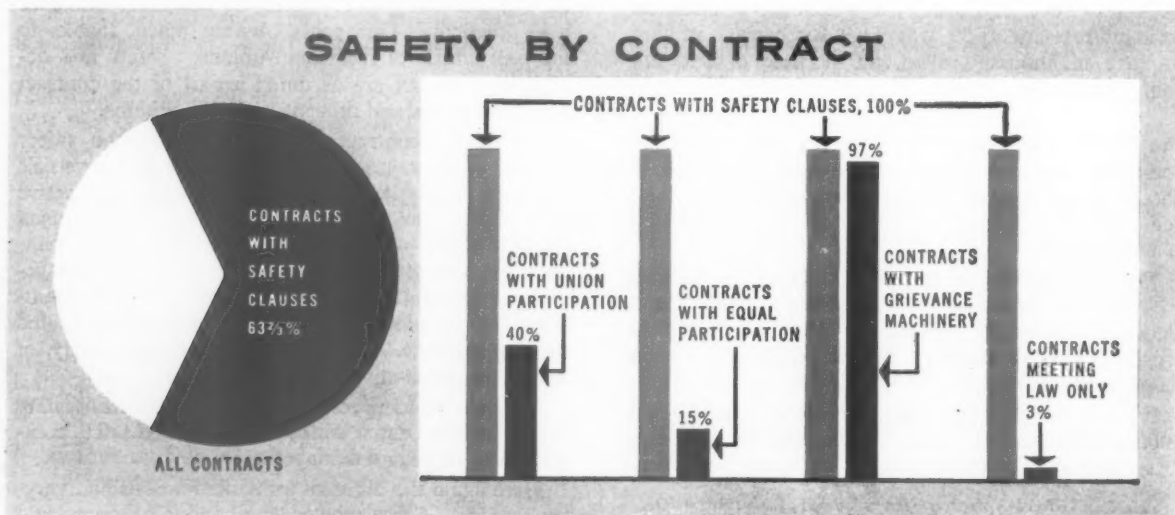
Where safety is made a part of the collective bargaining machinery it is no less enforceable than any other part of the contract. Trade unions learned long ago that a mutually acceptable contract bestows both duties and rights, and that the stature of unionism in America is measured by demonstrated responsibility of the parties to a collective bargaining agreement. The safety clauses in most contracts are no exceptions to this conclusion. In fact, a clearly written safety clause which includes explicit procedures for handling safety grievances removes any doubt as to its enforceability.

**The survey demonstrated** clearly that turning over the responsibility for safety to the state through legislation is not a satisfactory answer for labor unions.

At best, safety laws set up minimum requirements only, and they leave administration in the hands of government employees rather than management and labor. Safety legislation of course is a form of protection for unorganized workers and therefore is necessary. But in matters of life and death—and safety means just that—trade unions have demonstrated by this survey that they prefer to rely primarily upon the voluntary actions of management and labor to provide the essential safeguards against disabling injury or death.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that just as the United States needs minimum wage laws to protect all wage earners, so it needs safety and occupational health legislation.

As the only effective voice of wage earners—the unorganized as well as the organized—the trade union movement must face directly the problem of obtaining more meaningful safety and occupational health laws in addition to carrying on its relentless effort to write more effective protections into its collective bargaining agreements.





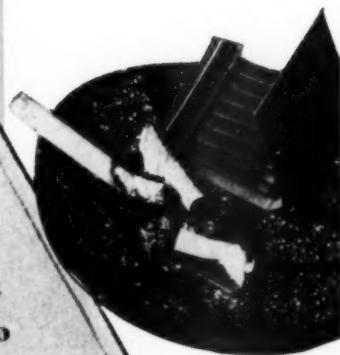
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